1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Rama SA17

R 114 tion ever yet accumulated with reference to the Guatusos. I have carefully rejected many wonderful stories told me by persons claiming to tell what they saw, and have only availed myself of the accounts of those who seemed to exaggerate least, or whose position forbade me to doubt their assertions.

T [101] 175 648 The tribes of Southern and South-eastern Costa Rica are better known. The Terrabas, living on the Pacific slope, and their neighbors, the Borucas or, as they call themselves, Bruncas, live under complete subjection to the laws of Costa Rica, and the rule of a missionary priest. They may be strictly called civilized. But those on the Atlantic slope have had a powerful ally in the forces of nature, in resisting the civilizing efforts of the Spanish invaders. The heavy rains of the Atlantic seaboard produce a luxuriance of vegetation that may well nigh be called unconquerable. Broad swamps, dank and reeking with malaria threaten the European with bilious fever, fatal to energy if not to life. Three centuries ago Columbus sailed along the coast from the Bahia del Almirante, and in his usual florid style called this the Rich Coast, and yet it has never yielded to the conqueror or paid him tribute. Two centuries ago a little colony was planted far back in the mountains and one or two outlying missionary posts were scattered among the then powerful tribes. But a just retribution fell on San José de Cabecar. The hardy mountaineers did not submit to the oppressors' yoke like the gentle and hapless victims of Cuba and Santo Domingo. Even now the traditions are well preserved among them, and I have listened to more than one recital of outrages which I dare not believe to be exaggerated. Father Las Casas tells of even worse oppressions. In 1709 the people rose and massacred all who fell into their power. A pitiful remnant escaped from the colony, to wander for weeks in the woods and finally a handful reached Cartago. The Viceroy of Guatemala, in retaliation sent forces by way of the forest trails from Cartago and others across the mountains by way of Terraba. They surrounded, killed, and captured all the Indians they could, and carried their prisoners to Cartago. Some of these were divided among the settlers as servants, and have left a strong tinge on the cheeks of many a would-be high-toned Costa Rican. The remainder were settled in the villages of Tucuriqui and Orosi, where, though partly civilized, they still retain their original language, badly corrupted with Spanish. Since this disastrous ending to the colony, both parties have kept up a wholesome dread of each other and no further efforts have ever been made to found a colony on the Atlantic side of the country. At the same time, the Indians not only dread, but hate the Spaniards and even a trace of Spanish blood, or fluency in the language on the part of a dark-skinned or dark-haired person is a warrant for suspicion. It is not a hatred of the white race. Englishmen, Americans, and Germans are invariably respected and treated well, by the same people who are either insolent to the Spaniard or treat him at best with restraint.

T [132] [131] T [191] T 609 648

000 On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially,

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

enemy, killing large numbers. After this a desultory warfare was kept up; each party striving to take the other unawares, and to capture as many heads as possible. This went on until the Tiribi, reduced to a handful, sued for peace and submitted as a conquered people to the Bri-bris. Since then, the chief of the Bri-bris has always retained the right of final choice of chief of the Tiribis, after nomination of the candidate by his own people. Beyond this, no actual control has ever been exercised. The Tiribi story does not differ from the above, except in the origin. It throws the blame of the first aggression on the Bri-bris. In some respects the Tiribis are superior to the Bri-bris. The children are more respectful to their parents; the women are more modest in dress and behavior, and the men are more industrious. This is their boast, and while they look down on the Bri-bris, the latter despise them as a conquered people. Very little communication occurs between the two tribes, and I could learn of but two cases of intermarriage between them. 173 721 [627] [563] [582]

I have already said the Tiribis and Cabecars are under the political rule of the Bri-bris. The form of government is extremely simple. One family holds the hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to 1873 the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government. The succession is not in direct line, but on the death of the incumbent, the most eligible member of the royal family is selected to fill the vacancy. Often a son is passed over in favor of a second cousin of the last chief. The present chief is first cousin of his predecessor, who was nephew of his predecessor, who was in turn a cousin to his. 619 622

Formerly the chiefs held only a nominal control over their people. The principal advantages derived from the position were rather of a social than a political nature. The chief was conducted to the best hammock for a seat on entering a house. He was treated to their great luxury, chocolate, when persons of less note were fain to be content with chicha. But in case of a quarrel the chief had to defend himself from the blows of the long, heavy fighting-stick like any ordinary mortal. Within the last decade or two, the traders, by throwing their influence on the side of the chief, have caused him to be treated with more respect, and endowed him with the attributes of a judge over his people, in all ordinary disputes. About 1870 or 1871, Santiago, the then chief, paid a visit to Cartago and San José; was well treated, and received an appointment from the Government, for the position which he already held, with the full approval of his tribe. It had been customary for the heir-apparent, the future successor, to hold a position as second, or subordinate chief, with little or no authority. One Lapiz was at that time second chief, and claimed that he was more entitled than the other to the chieftainship. Exaggerated ideas of great mineral wealth in "Talamanca" have been long held in Costa Rica and the Commandant of Moon, a little settlement on the Atlantic coast, used principally as a penal station, conspired with Lapiz against Santiago. This individual, named Marchena, advised Lapiz to assassinate his chief, and thereby place himself at the head of the tribe. [411] 622 648 [177] [624]

1;Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

622
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It seems that Marchena's plan was to put a creature of his own over the Indians, so as to gain access to the supposed rich mines and thereby benefit himself. Instigated by a "Christian," the savage, nothing loth, conspired with his people, but Santiago learned of it and made efforts to arrest him. Learning of this, he fled to the mountain fastnesses of Bri-bri where, broken down by disease and hardships he died, leaving, Indian like, his revenge as a legacy to his adherents. Santiago, who was a drunkard and, when intoxicated, a tyrant, gradually estranged his people from him, and his relatives, Birche and Willie, placed themselves at the head of the opposition. The occasion sought for was not long in being found, and one morning Santiago was shot in the woods by an ambushed party, who at once took possession of the government, burnt their victim's house, appropriated his effects, including his three wives, and defied his friends. Birche, as the oldest of the two cousins and claimants to the chieftainship, took precedence and Willie became second chief. Mr. John H. Lyon, an American from Baltimore, who had lived in the country since 1858, had acted as secretary to Santiago, and only their respect for an upright man who had always treated them justly, coupled with the fact that he was not a "Spaniard," prevented them from venting their resentment on him, in common with the other friends of the murdered man. He remained at his house for some weeks despite the storm. But at last, thinking discretion the better part of valor, he left the country with his Indian family and remained absent some months. On his return he found matters settled after a fashion: the Birche party in power, but by no means secure against an outbreak from the friends of Santiago, who only wanted a leader. They urged Lyon to head them but his better council prevailed, and they perforce accepted the situation. I visited the country first in March, 1873, accompanied by the Commandante of Limon, Don Federico Fernandez. He then formally approved of Birche as chief, Willie as second, and re-appointed Lyon as Secretary. This was a great step in advance for Birche who now, for the first time, felt himself secure. The assassination of Santiago was practically ignored, but they were told "to be good and not do it again." This was succeeded by an infinite number of petty quarrels between the two chiefs; each disliking the other, and each wishing the other out of the way. By dint of constant interference on the part of the foreigners, they were prevented from coming into actual collision, although one attempt was made by the friends of Willie to kill Birche, Lyon, myself and my assistants at a blow by planting an ambush for us on one of our journeys. However, in December, 1873, business taking me to San José, I induced Birche to accompany me. On my advice, Don Vicente Herrera, the Minister of Interior, gave to Birche a formal commission as "Jefe Politico" of Talamanca, confirmed Willie as second chief, and appointed Mr. Lyon "Secretary and Director of the tribes," fixing suitable salaries for each. This was the first time that the tribe had formally submitted to the Costa Rican government. The action of Santiago was purely an in-

1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

dividual affair, and looked on with great disfavor by the tribe. Matters went on very well for a few months under the new regime. But Birche, a man of little capacity, at the same time a coward and a tyrant, could not be content with his position. He began a system of ill treatment against which the people grumbled, but which they feared to resent. At first both Lyon and myself tried to quiet the complaints, believing that punishment had been justly inflicted, and knowing that

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> "No man e'er felt the halter draw
> With just opinion of the law,
> Or held with judgment orthodox . . .
> His love of justice in the stocks."

But it soon became apparent that his majesty (they are always called king) was abusing his power. The Indians dared not quarrel with Birche, for fear of offending the government, but came to Lyon almost daily with complaints. At last we decided to effect a change. Birche went to Limon to draw his salary, and at the same time to complain of a purely personal quarrel with Willie, in which he had fared worst. I arrived there a few days later, having completed my exploration, and being on my way to the Capital. On being asked for information and advice by the Commandante, I told the story and urged his removal. This could only be done by the minister, but he was suspended until the decision of that officer could be obtained. In a few days I saw Mr. Herrera, and after a conversation he decided to endorse the Commandante's action. Birche was accordingly removed, Willie was given a nominal chieftainship, and Lyon instructed to assume all responsibilities. Thus in less than two years the people have, without knowing how it happened, been deprived of their hereditary chiefs, and a foreigner placed over them. Willie remains with the empty title of chief without even the power to issue an order or punish an offender, except when ordered by Lyon. This gentleman has their entire confidence and respect, and many of the Indians begged to have even the title taken away permanently from the "royal" family. I have been thus prolix on this branch of the subject, because I was an eye witness, a participator, in the latter part of the events I relate. Trivial as they are, they may interest some, throwing light on the manner in which one tribe after another is subdued. [123]

A strange fatality seems to hang over these Isthmian Indians. Even when not brought into contact with the debasing influences of civilization, the tribes are visibly diminishing. Less than two centuries ago, the population of Talamanca, as Costa Rica calls her southeastern province, was counted by thousands, now barely 1200 souls can be found. The Shelaba tribe is extinct; the Changinas are at the point of extermination, the Tiribis number but one hundred and three souls, and Lyon tells me that the Cabecars of the Coen have diminished fully one-half within the last seventeen years, while the decrease in the Bri-bris is hardly less rapid. 161

During my travels in Talamanca I collected in each district an accurate 124 161

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

FOREWORD

121 THE following paper on the present-day *Boruca* Indians of southeastern Costa Rica is not a complete ethnological study. In fact, it might well be termed an "introductory paper" on these people. It is the result of four short visits into Boruca territory. The first trip was made with the idea of becoming acquainted with these people, and the remaining three visits were made to study the conditions under which the greater portion of autochthonous Costa Ricans exist today. The purpose in mind was to understand the new problems created by the first steps in constructing the Pan-American Highway. The 177 line of the proposed highway goes between ●648 *Térraba* and *Cabécar* Indian country, and indirectly affects the *Bribri* and the *Boruca*. With its start, came the flood of opportunists to claim lands that are actually occupied by [191] indigenous groups, many of whom do not even speak the national tongue, Spanish.

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
5A19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

FOREWORD

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As a result of these field trips, the Costa Rican Government set up, on December 6, 1945, a *Junta* or Committee to form a long-term educational program and to demarcate various aboriginal zones to be used as reservations.

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Little or nothing has been written about the *Boruca*, who are by far the most Europeanized of the southern Costa Rican tribes, and who, because of this, are fast losing their aboriginal characteristics. The report which follows is

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a series of facts concerning the life of the actual *Boruca* Indians; facts which, in a few years, may be obsolete or unknown. For this reason, they are offered here as part of the record of our knowledge of man's cultural changes, and, as stated before, do not pretend to represent a thorough ethnological study.

DORIS STONE

San José, Costa Rica, 1946

[p. v-b]
[p. vi is blank]

101 175 also various tribes from the south and the adjoining coast who formed part of the reduction of *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca*.[9] The town of Boruca, which is not the same town we know today, was founded to the north of the present site,
[continued p. 4-B, first paragraph]

PRESENT GROUPS

As we know them, the *Boruca* are a composite group, apparently inhabiting only a small section of their former domain. The peoples who are now represented by the
[continued p. 4-B, second paragraph]

LANGUAGE

197 There are, unfortunately, no vocabularies of the original Boruca tongue. The present language is a mixture of the speech of the various peoples who form the modern *Boruca* Indians. The majority of linguists associate Boruca, even in the heterogeneous state in which it appears today, with the Chibchan dialects.[11] Lehmann divides the Chibcha into an eastern and a western branch, beginning the latter with the Cueva-Cuna with whose
[continued p. 4-B, third paragraph]

NEIGHBORS

101 The present neighbors of the *Boruca* are largely *Talamancan* tribes, the *Térraba* in the immediate north, and the *Ujarrás* (*Cabécar*) and the *Salitre* (*Bribri*) still farther northward. A few *Changuena* are rumored to exist along the upper reaches of the Changuena River where they probably settled in the seventeenth century.[12] Some *Boruca* say that these *Changuenas* are "enchanted," and cannot be seen; others that they have seen them. All of the *Talamancan* peoples were brought into this area from the Atlantic area in the early part of the eighteenth century by Fray Pablo
[continued p. 4-B, fourth paragraph]

ACCULTURATION

177 ●648 Since the appointment of a Spanish Magistrate, a *corregidor*, for Boruca toward the second half of the eighteenth century,[14] the
[continued p. 4-B, last paragraph]

[9] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421–25. For the date, 1666, see p. 425.

[10] Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[11] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, p. 20.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 151, 195, lists all of these people with the exception of the *Abubaes*, as forming the modern *Boruca*. The *Abubaes*, however,

[p. 4-A]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bòruca

near the savanna known as "Mano de Tigre" today. Here, various tribes, including the *Coto* were moved into the vicinity by the Spanish priests,[8] until in 1749, even the *Quepos* Indians were brought into the area and formed part of the community.[9]

PRESENT GROUPS

Boruca were at one time neighbors and, to some extent at least, enemies. The *Boruca* today include the *Coto*, *Turrucaca*, *Burucac*, *Quepos*, and the *Abubaes*.[10]

LANGUAGE

speech he also sees a resemblance to the *Boruca*.[12]

In connection with the name, *Boruca*, the Indians today do not use this term, but call themselves *Brunka*. *Brunka* is composed of two words, *brun*, meaning "ashes," and *ka* or *k-a*, meaning "within." Their town, however, they call *Boruca*. *Brunka* is singularly absent in the older documents of the Conquest and colonization, apparently coming into use around the nineteenth century.

NEIGHBORS

de Rebullida, as stated above. Here they have remained, isolated from their original territory, each group distrustful of the other. The *Boruca* distrust in particular their neighbors the *Térraba*. They get along best of all, but not very well, with the *Ujarrás*. Even within the Boruca community this isolation is evident. The women seldom visit each others' houses. As much as a year may pass without one going to the house of a neighbor, but, when they do, they are very garrulous, and enjoy gossiping and laughing, seated on their little four-footed benches.

ACCULTURATION

Bruncas, *Brunkas*, or *Borucas* began to lose their own culture and personality. The slow acculturation of these people by the Costa

also should be considered as part of this group. See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 421, 424.

[11] See Mason, 1940, pp. 86–87, and the linguistic map of Johnson, 1940.

[12] Lehmann, 1920, vol. II, p. 71.

[8] See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, p. 424.

[9] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, p. 363.

[p. 4-B]

177 Ricans has unfortunately gained in degree
648 since the advent of the vanguard of road-builders for the Pan-American Highway. To date, they have, however, managed to keep relatively free from inter-mixture either by marriage or by cohabitation with non-Indian

[Continued p. 5-B, first paragraph]

VILLAGES

361 The village of Boruca is situated in a low depression on undulating hills, about 6 miles inland from the River Diquis (see fig. 3, *a* and *b*) and at an altitude of approximately 466 meters. As a rule, the day-time temperature
[132] is between 75 or 78 degrees F. The nights are fairly cool, and during the dry season, fog or a very heavy mist is common in the early morning often lasting as late as eight or nine o'clock. These hillocks have been cleared of forest, and are quite bare save for a few scattered shade or fruit trees. There are no
[363] streets, but several narrow foot and animal paths extend through the town. The Indians are accustomed to pick their way over the grass to the houses which are scattered over and in between the hillocks, forming a picturesque panorama which can be best seen from the summit of the two tall hills which flank the village on the northern and southeastern sides, respectively. Eastward, a trail leads down to a mountain spur which extends in a northeastern direction toward Curré, some 6 miles distant. Formerly, Boruca had
[346 a *cabildo*, or town hall. Today, this has disap-
177] peared, and the wooden schoolhouse and church with its haphazard wire fence are the only semblances of *ladino* architecture.
[351 Although most of the houses have no fences,
417] a very few have wooden ones, hemming in a garden with colored crotons, flowers, or some
[245] fruit trees. The school is starting a *manzana* of vegetables and fruit trees on the outskirts
312 of the town. A small creek, with tree- or bush-lined sides, known by the Spanish name of *La Quebrada* or the Boruca name of *Tupsi*, flows through the community, supplying

[Continued p. 5-B, second paragraph]

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.** The farms of the Boruca contain from three to five *manzanas*, a *manza-na* usually comprising about ten thousand
[804] square *varas*[a]

[continued p. 5-B, last paragraph]

[a] A *vara* equals 33 inches.

peoples (see p. 26), and are, curiously enough, practically the only group in modern Costa Rica who have retained their indigenous dress, even though many of their customs have unfortunately disappeared.

VILLAGES

water for washing purposes. The drinking water is derived from springs which are located in the northern section of the town.

Curré and Lagarto are river hamlets, lying in the very narrow plain cut by the Diquis River in its upper course. They are low, unhealthy locations, the houses situated in dense forest and thickets. As a consequence, they are not open and fresh as Boruca, but closed-in, and, for many months of the year, mosquito ridden. These villages have even less the aspect of a formal town than Boruca. Narrow, almost imperceptible foot paths lead from one of the widely scattered and nearly hidden houses to the other. There are no churches or schools, and perhaps there is one fence in both communities. Water is obtained from shallow wells on the river bank, from small creeks, or from the river itself.

Palmar Norte is on a flat right on the river bank. The forest comes to the outskirts of the town, but unlike the other river villages, the community itself is open and free of the bush. Palmar Norte is obviously under *ladino* influence. Here, there is a definite attempt to lay out a "town" in the Spanish-American sense, with a *plaza* or square, a church, school, several saloons and stores, the houses all with fences, and broad, wide, grass-covered streets connecting blocks or squares. It keeps its indigenous characteristics in the still ample space or gardens around the houses, and, of course, their construction which, for the most part, is like that of Lagarto and Curré. Malaria is prevalent among the *Boruca*, who are, otherwise, an exceptionally healthy people.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

square *varas*.[15] The farms are away from the village, and are generally fenced in. The fence is nearly always made with living posts,

386 threads, the Indians lamented to the writer that they had forgotten how to make many of the beautiful colors their ancestors knew. In particular, they wanted to know how to ob-
[123] tain a bright blue. As a consequence, the seeds of the broad-leaf indigo were sent them for planting.

The colors still made by the *Boruca* are black, light yellow, pale blue, and purple. Light brown is obtained by using the natural colored cotton, as stated before. Formerly, red was made by boiling the leaves of the sangrilla tree which is called *rus kra'* in Boruca, and is abundant in the neighboring forests. At present, they do not make this dye, as they seem to think it too much trouble. A fast jet black is procured by cooking the bark of a tree called *carbonero* (*Guarea guara* (Jacq.) P. Wil.) in Spanish, and *grisin-kra'* in Boruca, and combing the liquid with a black clay found in the vicinity. Light blue is made from a narrow-leaf indigo (*Indigofera suffruticosa* Mill.) which abounds by the river. The leaves are boiled for dye. Purple is obtained on the sea coast near Punta Mala and Dominical. Here a mollusk (*Purpura patula* Gould), called *la morada*, is gathered at low tide off the rocks which jut out of the water along the shore. Formerly, the Indians swam out to the rocks with the cotton thread on top of their head
237 to collect the animal.[26] The *Boruca* have no
386 tradition of any of this. At the present time, they gather the mollusk when the tide is out from the shore, and from the rock they can reach by wading. Great pain is taken not to let the creature die. On obtaining the mollusk, they first turn over the shell so that the sea water runs out. Then they blow into the shell, holding the thread in front. The angry animal spits out a fluid on the thread, after which he is thrown back into the sea. This fluid is at first a greenish-yellow, but when dry, becomes deep purple.[27] They say that the ink is best when the moon is full, and no good when the moon is new. At other times, the color is not so strong, nor does it dye evenly.
● [648] This dye has long been prized not only by the

[26] See Cockburn, 1779, p. 112.

[27] According to Dr. W. J. Clench, Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, Harvard University, this dye is a drug used by the snail to anesthetize its victim.

[28] See Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 353–54; Cock-

237 386 [648] Indians, but also by the Spaniards who demanded purple thread, during the Conquest and the colonial period, as tribute for the church as well as for themselves.[28] For a more complete discussion of this purple dye in other parts of Central America, see MacCurdy.[29] Another, not so strong, purple dye is gathered from a small mollusk (*Purpura kiosquiformia* Duclos) which lives on the roots of the mangrove trees (*Rhizophora Mangle* L.). This creature must be killed to be of use. The soft part of the shell is removed, and the liquid it contains is put on a thin stick and *drawn* on the material in the same manner as using a colored pencil. When first applied, the liquid is black, but it turns purple on drying. This is employed very seldom today, as the little weaving that is done has generally woven designs, and is not painted.

286 [462] The actual weaving is done by the women seated on the low bench that is characteristic of the *Boruca* (see p. 13). The loom used is horizontal with a warp beam and a back strap, the other end of the loom being fastened to the wall of the house or to a tree (see fig. 9, *d*). The crossing of the weft is accomplished with a straight wooden rod, after which the woof is pressed into position with a wooden sword slightly longer than the width of the cloth. A shed stick is used, but there is no heddle rod. The width of the web is kept even by the temple, which is a piece of cane, preferably the part near the inflorescence, with a bone point at each end (see p. 18).

The cloth woven by these people is usually [531] heavy with a stripe design (see fig. 7, *d*). Some women, however, weave a conventionalized geometric pattern horizontally across the white space between the stripes (see fig. 9, *a*), not permitting the design to appear on the reverse side of the cloth. This is a single-faced [171] weft-pattern weave, and is a technique unknown elsewhere in Central America. It has been found in ancient graves on the Ecuadorian coast, by the island of Puna.[30] Men's belts are also striped, although the thread used and the weaving is finer than that of the skirts.

burn, 1779, p. 112.

[29] See MacCurdy, 1911, pp. 160–61.

[30] Information given to the writer by Professor Carlos Zeballos M., Director of the Municipal Museum, Guayaquil, Ecuador. [115]

[p. 17-B]

841 they will not flow for long. The women say that only "stupid *ladinas*" flow for days and days. It is said, the *kuikʃ·as* stops the period usually within three days. Four days are considered too long a time. A cloth is used to catch the flow, and some women say that formerly *mastate* (see p. 18) was used. Some women also say that, at present, nothing is used, and the blood is allowed to drip down the legs. The only tabu on women during this period is that they cannot participate at a *fiesta*, nor can they serve chicha or food to the men. The menstruating women can watch the gaiety, but must stay apart.

868 **Education.** Both sexes as children help in the fields, and the girls assist in the kitchen from a very early age. They also learn to make thread, but very few show interest in weaving. The boys make string bags, rope, and hammocks, and sometimes learn to carve gourds.

648 872 The *Boruca* children are sent to the local school which is run by the Costa Rican Government. The school masters, two in number, are from the central plateau, and until recently, little or no interest was taken in their job. They often were young men who were forced economically to take a post in an outlying Indian group, and who resented the fact, living only for their vacation and the day they might have sufficient friends of influence to permit their transfer to the capital. As a consequence, they frequently lived with Indian girls, and occasionally produced children whom they never bothered to support. The present inspector of the Indian schools and the actual Government, however, are doing their best to change much of this. The Boruca language is being encouraged and taught along with Spanish. A large blank notebook is being filled with the help of the older generation, and an attempt is under way to gather legends. One thing is certain, the younger generation is now obliged to study their own language. This was unheard of a few years ago.

575 178 **Marriage.** There is no particular ceremony in connection with marriage amongst the *Boruca*. The few customs that did exist are slowly disappearing.

[88] Pittier, 1888, p. 93.

[p. 21-B]

3:Stone E-5 (1945) 1949
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Boruca

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

423 Land Tenure. The *Boruca* consider the
648 territory in which they live as the property of the tribe at large. Legally, the Costa Rican Government has not yet made a reservation of this section. This is due, perhaps, to the relative remoteness of the area from the towns of the central plateau, and to the very broken nature of the terrain. It may also be
[609] partly the result of the hostile attitude of the *Boruca* to any stranger desiring to settle amongst them. No non-Indian has property in this region.

423 Each family has from three to five *manzanas*
311 for their own use, often as far as a league (3 miles) from the village. This is their "farm," and is worked continuously until the soil runs out, then a new spot is selected, and the forest
423 cleared to start again. The village, as a whole, has a *manzana* for cultivation for the church.
794 Each individual is required to do his share of
[476] work on this land. The Indians go in groups to clear the field and to plant it with corn, rice, beans, and sugar cane. Formerly the church had cattle, but this situation no longer exists in Boruca. When the crops are gathered, they are stored in a special room in the parish house to be kept for the use of the priest on
[735] his bi-yearly visits, or for the poor when the farming year is bad. Unfortunately, nowadays, this custom is slowly disappearing.

423 It is said that up to only a few years ago, the town also had its field, and that there were no individual small farms as there are today. The great number of barren hills which
311 are commonly called "savannas," and which clearly retain the vestiges of former tilled rows (see fig. 10, *e*), serve as silent proof of the authenticity of this tradition, as well as to the Spanish reports of the great number of Indians who inhabited this region at the time of the Conquest. The savannas today are of particular importance to the *Boruca*. Economically, these savannas furnish the roof of the house (see p. 12), and the food for the few animals which these Indians possess. Besides this, they yield a grass that is considered necessary to use in the bath of the new-born child (see p. 20), and a grass which is often used to make *maracas* (see p. 29). Consequently, no one is allowed to fence off the

Pittier[38] noticed that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the *Borucas* frequently went to Puntarenas "carrying hides, cocoa-butter, blackberries, pineapples," etc., and that on the return trip, they brought "articles of prime necessity." He notes also that the *Viceitas*, a *Talamancan* people, came in August to trade with the *Térraba* and the *Boruca*. The *Viceitas* brought "cacao, hammocks, bags, iron pots, knives, and various objects of English and North American manufacture. They exchanged these goods for *mantas*, salt, calves, turkeys, dogs, etc." And that they also sold a certain kind of white *manta* which was larger than that of the *Borucas*.

The *Viceitas*, who are the *Bribri*, still come around August, and are famous for their bags and hammocks. Practically all of the string bags and the best hammocks found in Boruca are of *Viceita* manufacture (see fig. 8, *b*–2, 4, 7). As late as 1942, the *Boruca* would exchange a kilo of salt (rock salt) for a cow or several calves, or a smaller amount for copal, which does not grow around Boruca, but is common in the Talamanca mountains, or for *mastate* (see p. 18). Since 1942, however, the Government monopoly on salt has tended to stop this ancient custom. The *Boruca* have had to make their salt more or less in contraband, and to reserve most of the little salt they are able to make for their own use. This, and the high price of Government salt has left the other tribes, and in particular the poorer *Bribri* in such straits that they are forced to frequent the *salitres* or salt deposits which are found in their area and chew the earth as cattle do in order to extract the mineral.

RELIGION, MAGIC, ETC.

eighth, the Roman Catholic feast of the Immaculate Conception, is the religious holiday of the town of Boruca, which we must remember is called in Spanish "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Boruca." This is the time the priest makes one of his bi-yearly visits. Mass is held, after which the people hold a solemn procession throughout the village, up and down the rolling hillocks. The Virgin of

[38] Pittier, 1891, p. 105.

842 One of the most important functions of the witch doctor appears to be the control of birth. The *Boruca* have long been famous for having children only when they feel like it, not using an abortive, but a preventive or a provocative, as the case might be. They are very reticent [648] to admit even the existence of such a practice, however, through fear of the priest and of the Costa Rican Government, which in the past has persecuted the Talamancan peoples for this, as we shall see further on.

Both processes are brought about by taking certain liquid preparations given by the witch doctor. The sterilization process is called a *curada*, and when a woman has one or two children, the Indians say quite frankly that she is *curada*. It appears possible to be *curada* and then go to the *curandera* and become pregnant when one wants. Both remedies are drinks made from certain leaves, fungi, roots, and ferns. The sterilizing brew must be taken for fifteen days, stopped for fifteen days, and taken again for fifteen days. If badly prepared or taken too consistently without the interval in between, the drink is said to kill by causing hemorrhages. The neighbors of the *Boruca* all have, at least, the remedy to stop conception. The *Térraba*[89] do not practise it so often [177] today, as the Roman Catholic Church has apparently had more influence on them. The *Térraba* claim that their population has decreased violently since the past century because their women made themselves too sterile, and both sexes began to live together in any manner. They add that because of this, a curse has been put on them and they are dying out. It is a pity there is no census record to serve as comparative material. All of the remaining Talamanca peoples, such as the *Bribri*, the *Chirripó*, and the *Cabécares*, seem also to know this custom. In an unpublished report of Fathers Vincente Krautwog and Augustín Blessing of several trips made by them to the missions of Talamanca in the years 1894 to 1902, the originals of which are in the parochial archives in Limón, Costa Rica, the following statements are significant:

The women of the Estrella (valley) have very few children, because of certain remedies which they take

[p. 26-8]

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

ette.. These two bones are for the first death, and the others they get afterwards they keep on drilling the lower lip, into which they put two or more bones. They also bore the ears roundabout and in the holes they stick straws, like a large span set round with colored feathers; and all this is to show off their courage and excite fear. 304 554

The strangest thing in the mountain region of *Talamanca* is that the Indians of the *Zegua* tribe, who are upon the islands and shores of the North Sea, all or nearly all of them have a tail more than a third of a yard long; and doubtless on account of this monstrosity they do not mingle with the other tribes, but are only to be met with on the Island of *Thóxar*, whither the other tribes go to trade for cacao, the yield of which is there very good in quality and abundant. This island is very fertile and abounds in fruit, such as plantains and pineapples, etc., but as I am informed it is already deserted on account of the repeated invasions which have been made by the *Zambos* and *Mosquitos* in league with the English, who carry away the people to sell the men in *Jamaica* and making use of the women. The few that are left have withdrawn into the hills, where they have their settlements or *palenques*. * * * 142 [438] 166 648

As regards the number of the gentile Indians, living among those mountain regions of *Talamanca*, all that is known is that they are very numerous, as shown by the parts which have been subjected and the accounts of the Indians themselves, covering the lands they occupy. 161

As regards the work that has been done in those Missions it is to be noted that those tribes, if not all at least the three that are embraced under the name of *Thalamancas*, were conquered and paid their tribute generally in little nuggets of gold, of which there are records in the archives of the said city of *Cartago*. And in this College there is a copy of a document, from which it appears that in that province there was a city of Spaniards by the name of *"Santiago de Thalamanca,"* with its fort of *San Ildefonso*, but that the Indians rebelled and killed a great many people and they burned the city and destroyed everything. The city was founded on what they called the plains of *Thalamanca*, on the 175 648

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

175 648 level lands of the great river *Estrella*,[14] where it joins the river *Coén*,[15] which comes down from *Cabécara*, and the *Arari*, which comes down from *Viceita*.

175 648 797 Its destruction, according to the copy referred to, was in the month of August of the tenth year of the last century, and at the end of it. In the year 1680, the conquest and subjection of the heathen Indians of that province was undertaken by the venerable servant of God, the Padre Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesús, founder of this College, who had good results in his apostolic work, for in a few years he succeeded in teaching and baptizing so great a number of Indians that they already made up sixteen settlements. But at the end of 1709, those barbarous tribes rebelled, together with those who were taught, baptized and settled, and they killed two out of the three friars who were there. There were Fray Pablo de Rebullida and Fray Antonio de Zamora, and nine or ten of the soldiers who were in the garrison, together with a woman and a boy, burning the churches and profaning the sacred vessels and the furniture thereof. Yet by the orders and the measures taken by the Tribunal of the Royal Audiencia or Captaincy-General of this Kingdom, assisted by the good conduct of the Governor of the Province of *Costa Rica*, who at that time was Don Lorenzo de la Granda Balbín, and the military officers who accompanied him, and the Rev. Padre Fray Antonio de Andrade, a disciple of this College, who was saved out of that insurrection, they were successful in penetrating into the mountains and cap-

[114] [14] Among the papers relating to the foundation of the city of *Santiago de Talamanca* it appears that it was founded upon the banks of the *Tariro*, eight leagues from its mouth. Fray Manuel Urcullu is not mistaken as regards the site, but he falls into the same error already noted in the other reports of the missionaries, of calling the *Tariro*, *Tiliri* or *Siracla*, the *Estrella* river. The latter is the one now designated the *Changuene* on some maps, *Changuinola* upon others and, finally, the *Tilorio* river. The latter is the real *Estrella* river, discovered and made known in 1564, by Juan Vázquez de Coronado. Its course, instead of running towards the coast of the Sea of the Antilles, as it does today, turned at nine and a half degrees of North latitude and continued towards the East in a line almost parallel to the said coast, until it emptied into the Bay of *Almirante*. The ancient channel of the river is well known by explorers, and in particular by Don José María Figueroa, who traced it upon the map of Costa Rica. Note by M. M. de Peralta.

[15] The river *Coén* is a tributary of the river *Tariro*.

5:Urcullu M-5 (1763) 1913
SA19 Talamanca SA19

turing fifteen hundred Indians who had risen, with their *cacique*, and justice was done to the latter as well as to the others, and the holy vessels and the furnishings were recovered. As the rebels continued more insolent and were bound together in their disobedience and apostasy, the zeal of the said Reverend Padre Andrade and of the other friars who were under him could not re-establish this conquest and subjection; but now, extricated from the difficult and even impossible situation in which the enterprise then was, it should be restored to this College.

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174 continued to be Cabécar. Gabb [37] was the first
[721] to mention this as well as to recount the tradition of war between the Bribri and Tiribis which ended in 1827.[38] As a consequence, the winning Bribri became the political rulers of
[643] Talamanca. From this phenomenon, a King of Talamanca evolved.

643 At the time of Gabb, one family had the "hereditary right of chieftainship, and up to
[642] 1873, the reigning chief had theoretically full powers of government." [39] The chief was followed at his death by the best-suited person in the royal family, not necessarily the son. The situation in Talamanca at this period was so complex that a number of candidates for the position, all blood relatives, appeared. Each "King" was woefully lacking in preparation and was too firm an addict of alcohol. A sailor
643 from Baltimore, Mr. John H. Lyon, who went
● 648 to Talamanca in 1858 looking for fortune, fell in love with the country and made it his home. He had an Indian family and acquired such a strong position among these people that the Costa Rican government finally asked him to accept the task of governing the Talamancas.[40] For the purposes of the present study, it is worth noting that the memory of the "King" still remains and the clan to which the "King" belonged has continued as a mixture of Bribri and Cabécar (*see* Social Organization).

101 **The Southern Side of the Talamanca Range.** South of the Talamanca Range two names are associated with the region under discussion, the Coto and the Turucaca as we noted before. None of these peoples exist today although their blood remains in that of the composite Boruca of southeastern Costa Rica.[41]

In this area, however, on the very slopes of the range, are two settlements of Bribri and
[361] one of Cabécares, while in the General Valley, west of Potrero Grande, a small group of Cabécares are located in China Kichá (Orange Root) [42] at the confluence of the Pejibayal with the General River.

[101] upper Changuinola River in Panama, and who inhabited at one time the Zorquín River.

[37] *See* Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 127.
[38] Gabb, 1875, p. 489.
[39] Gabb, 1875, pp. 489–91.
[40] Stone, 1949.
[42] *Kichá* also means "string or rope."

tent that this small valley could not support the inhabitants. Some left for the site of China Kichá and there were joined by more people from Talamanca. We estimate that there are about 700 Indians within the area of Ujarrás and China Kichá.

Other Sites. There is a relatively strong percentage of Talamancan blood remaining in the people of the Reventazón Valley, but there are none of the Talamancan living habits left. Here at Orosi, and farther north at Cachí and Tucurrique, are descendents of the Cabécares from the Coen region. Tres Rios, in the Central Plateau, was originally settled by Bribri and Cabécar Indians brought there by the colonial government in 1747.[45] Similarly, at Cangel in Guanacaste, there are some few Bribri relationships.[46] The presence of this blood in these areas is due to the transferral of many Talamancans by the government of Costa Rica as penalty for four uprisings, the first three between 1610 and 1619 and the last in 1709, which resulted in the destruction of the Franciscan missions and the massacre of Spanish men and women.[47] In these sections of displaced peoples, acculturation has been triumphant and there is next to nothing to suggest the aboriginal connections of the inhabitants of these places beyond the ordinary characteristics of the mestizo.

LANGUAGE

the Chirripó who are not neighbors and have little or no contact with Bribri. Few Bribri, however, do the same with Cabécar. In this respect, nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the vocabulary used by the Bribri when dealing with sacred subjects, prayers, or myths is almost totally Cabécar. Ancient songs, on the other hand, are often sung by the Bribri

Organization.)

[45] Fernández, 1907, vol. IX, pp. 491–92.

[46] Fernández, 1889, pp. 379–80.

[47] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, pp. 325–26, ftn. 7; 1886, vol. V, pp. 162–215.

[48] Lehmann, 1920, vol. I, pp. 178–356; Mason, 1940, pp. 76–77.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 10(A)]
Bribri
Cabecar

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,[54] Pittier,[55] and Skinner [56] are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,[57] the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel [58] of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,[59] little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956–59. In doing so, we shall take into consideration the two geographically distinct groups as each one demonstrates a different stage of acculturation.

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184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living
131 of the Talamancan people depends upon their geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged.
489 Transportation is restricted to foot with the exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In
491 most of the region, bridges are non-existent and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and
177 upper Chirripó have been isolated since conquest times and little attention was paid to the
648 Sixaola Plain during the early days of the republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

[54] Gabb, 1875.
[55] Pittier, 1938.
[56] Skinner, 1920.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.10(B)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one German had lived in this area. The United Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the valley for banana planting. With the advent of the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil Company workers who did not really penetrate the area of Indian habitation, few outsiders have settled. Within this number can be included some Jamaican Negroes and a scattering of Costa Ricans from the interior. The people of lower Chirripó have what might be termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in the valley of Zent which forms part of the Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and lumber operations.

The southern region differs from the Caribbean side. A horse can reach almost any house. There is less rainfall and more savanna land. Good schools are available and the people have easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talamancan inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian, white, and black element which entered this region from Panama during the past century either because of political persecution or as fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few Costa Ricans from the interior and various North Americans have settled near Ujarrás and China Kichá.

The difference in geography, climate, and neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for distinctions in beliefs and living habits between one area and the other. Attention will be called to these differences when necessary. Otherwise, the two geographical divisions of the Talamancans will be treated as one.

Acculturation. As can be imagined, there are

[87] Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fn. 10, pp. 334–39; 1886, vol. V, pp. 373–74.
[88] Thiel, 1927.
[89] Polakowsky, 1883.

[P. 11(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

621 361 Dávila must be remembered (*see* Regional Terminology) as well as the custom that each clan had to settle in a particular location (*see* Social Organization). In truth, one of the greatest points of contention between the [648] aborigine and the Spaniard was the necessity of the conqueror to force the Indian to live in towns in order to carry out the task of conversion, to collect tribute, and to have an easy and constant source of labor. This concentration in a community was entirely foreign to the culture of the Talamancan peoples, and historical documents contain many allusions to the resistance of the Indians to such a move. There are countless sites with names, but even in the case of places such as Amubre, Chirripó, and Ujarrás where there is a church, or Cabagra, Salitre, and Ujarrás where there is a school, there is little semblance of what the word "village" brings to mind. Dwellings are scattered, sometimes two to five kilometers apart, and only on the Pacific side is there anything akin to a community center, in this instance the school.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 The only implement used in upper Talamanca and Chirripó is a flat, pointed digging [412] stick made from the outer bark of the *pejibaye* [824] palm (*Guilielma gasipaes* Bailey). This is stuck into the ground at a sixty degree angle and is then raised vertically. The seeds are thrown into this hole from a gourd tied around the [415] waist (fig. 2, *c*) and the stick is removed permitting the earth to settle back. It is then tapped lightly in place with the stick. The [411] belief persists that this tool was once a battle weapon.[60] The only other cultivation deemed necessary is one weeding with a machete. In the Talamanca Plain and on the Pacific slope, [412] both the all-wood *macana* and one with a metal blade are seen; while on the Pacific side, an angle stick is used to clear the fields. It 249 is interesting to note that when tobacco is to be planted here there is no preliminary burning. This crop is sown in rows indicated by ...nes and pieces of banana stalk are put over the new growth to keep off too much sun.

[60] Skinner, 1920, pp. 70-71.

½ [See category 116, END Plate 1- Analyst]

[P. 48 (A)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabécar
Terraba
Changuena

173 Cabécares, and only a very few managed to
726 escape. The Terribís cut off heads,[181] cleaned
[727] them, and used them for cups. They cooked the heads and dried them well and then put them in certain houses.

The king of the Cabécares was furious. He gathered together people and went to Terribí where they killed some of their enemies. But still the Cabécares were frightened and many hid. The *usegLa* always remained at a great distance. One day, nevertheless, an *usegLa* was taken captive with other Cabécares and killed. The Terribís cut off ten heads but kept alive
[727] as prisoner a young girl who was niece of the *usegLa*. They tied and carried her, and she cried and cried. All this time the heads made an awful noise, which was more frightening as they still had their teeth. The *usegLa's* head took the lead and told the Terribís that the Cabécares would come and reap vengeance.

After a three days' journey, they reached the dwellings of the Terribís. The skull of the uncle continued to make noise, the teeth chattering horribly. In desperation, the Terribís tied the skull on a rope and hung it in a house. One night, however, the rope broke and the skull slipped out.

The people in the house thought some child had fallen when they heard a noise. They ran to look outside. There, on a barren hill, was a great jaguar who grabbed the Terribís one by one. The beast went from house to house until he had carried everybody away except the girl who remained crying. Then it was that *sibu* interfered and told the jaguar not to kill all the Terribís because he wanted some left. The jaguar had to obey.

In the early morning, the creature returned to the spot and said to the girl, "Don't be afraid even if I am dead and look like a jaguar. I am your uncle and I will take you home. I'll carry you across the rivers and over the mountains, but I'll leave you beside your house. As I am dead, I cannot enter. Just don't be afraid."

[172] [181] Trophy heads are common in Costa Rican archæology.

[648] [180] The Changuinas were allies of the British against the Spanish, the Cabécares on the Pacific side of the range, and the Borucas. Their home territory was along the Changuinola River in northwestern Panama. The British gave them scissors, knives, axes, beads, etc., and sent them across the cordillera to the

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.48(B)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabécar, Changuena
Bribri
Terraba
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He slept near her and told her that if she saw a large jaguar or a large alligator in a pool, it would be him. Knowing that some *usegLa* had fled in the forest, the uncle further advised her to search for her relatives.

It happened as the uncle said, and the girl told all about it later.

Vengeance for the Cabécares

(*Cabécar*)

During the same war, the Terribís climbed trees to look for the Cabécares and Bribri. They would spot a *palenque* (house) and then sleep near it so as to make a surprise raid and kill everyone in the early morning. One day the Terribís went to the upper Estrella River without seeing a soul as all the people along the way had fled. Twenty-five Terribís paused on a hilltop and spotted a large *palenque*. They surrounded the dwelling and some guarded the roads to see where the people were.

Time passed. They heard the cocks crow but they didn't see a single person. This made them think that all the people were within the house. *Palenques* only have one door, so the whole twenty-five entered along with a large wasp which killed them all.

Thus it happened that when another Terribí, who had stayed behind to gather rope for hanging the heads the band expected to collect, tried to find his companions he failed. The truth was that there had never been a *palenque* at that spot on the upper Estrella, nor were there roads. It was part of a scheme of *sibu* against the Terribís. It was he who had sent the wasp to avenge the Cabécares.

The War of the Changuinas [182] with the Talamancas

(*Cabécar*)

The war between the Changuinas and the Cabécares was fought for such a long time that

[648] Changuina River, a tributary of the Diquís or Río Grande de Térraba. Here they had a tremendous battle with the Borucas and Cabécares of Ujarrás as the graveyards in the vicinity testify. *See* Stone, 1958, p. 45, fig. 1. Today, legend holds that the Changuinas are still at the upper reaches of this tributary, but that they disappear when one arrives.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar
Bribri

[P. 50(A)]

Dispersal

(*Cabécar*)

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The medicine men recount that the Spaniards seized their people and sent them to Ujarrás and to San José.[186] They were hunted with dogs who picked up their scent. The Cabécares hid in the forests and killed the Spaniards and the dogs with arrows. This annoyed the Spaniards and they put armor on some of the dogs. Sick at heart, the Cabécares went to a waterfall and with the aid of a ladder, climbed up so the dogs couldn't smell them. The Indians then fled to different parts.

Sacrifice to a King

(*Bribri*)

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The last Bribri king adopted a young Térraba (*brosbi*) boy and brought him up. He was so very brave that he did not need a shield[187] to protect him from lances when in battle. He fought for and defended the Bribri as if he were one of them, alone setting fire to enemy roofs. The sad fact, however, was that he was not a Bribri but a captured boy. When the king died, even though the young Térraba cried as if he had lost his own father, the Bribri killed him and he fell on top of the king's body.

The End of the *usegLa* and the King

(*Cabécar and Bribri*)

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Neither the *usegLa* nor the King were good to the people. If someone laughed in front of the *usegLa*, his mouth became fixed in that position. If he looked in a way the *usegLa* did not like, his eyes were closed permanently. The King took the bravest men and tied them to posts and beat them with knives made of *pejibaye*.

The people did not like this and fled from

[186] This is not exactly true. The Costa Rican government forcibly brought Cabécares to Tucurrique and Orosi as punishment for uprisings in Talamanca. *See* Fernández, 1883, vol. III, ftn. 10, and section of History in this paper.

6;Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P. 102(A)]

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

CONSTITUTIONALLY, Costa Rica rejected the monarchical form of government in the third decade of the 19th century. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the present era, there was still a reigning king in this country. His name was Antonio Saldaña, a picturesque and proud individual who ruled over the Talamancan Indians.

It is most probable that the title of King among the Talamancans was borrowed from the Zambo-Mosquitos who, under English guidance, had established a "monarchy" on the Mosquito shore which was aimed at protecting the British claim within this area.

At the beginning of the 19th century and without any relationship to the political happenings in Costa Rica, the tribes of Talamanca began to war with one another, the Bribri winning.

There were three chieftains or kings of importance in Talamanca in 1862. These were Chirimo, Santiago Mayas, and Lapis. The most powerful one was Chirimo.[1] In July, 1867, the National Congress passed a law signed by the President of the Republic making the Talamancan chiefs "jefe políticos." This was a silent recognition of the position maintained by the kings in the community. The same law gave these individuals the right to govern and administer justice according to their customs, but under a Director of the Settlements. For this purpose, the government appointed Mr. John H. Lyon, a North American native of Baltimore, who had lived for many years in the region and was well known and respected by the Indians.

At the death of Chirimo, Santiago became the principal king. He visited San José, the

[1] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 147; Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 148–49.

[P. 102(B)]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19

APPENDIX III: ANTONIO SALDAÑA, LAST KING OF TALAMANCA

by Carlos Meléndez Ch.

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capital of Costa Rica, in 1871, where he was cordially and sympathetically received by the authorities. This was due to two causes. The fact that he was handsome, intelligent, and cordial,[2] and to the geographical position of Talamanca which lay within the territory disputed by Nueva Granada and Costa Rica.

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Lapis, the remaining king, could not tolerate the rise to power of Santiago. A feud began which terminated in the death of Lapis after he was forced to take refuge in the forest land. He left a heritage of hate to his friends and followers.

But the worries of Santiago were not over. Birche and Willie, who belonged to the *saLawak* clan and were his cousins, commenced to conspire against him. In 1872, they surprised him by ambush and killed him. Birche remained master with Willie next in command. The incapacity of the first and the ambitions of the second soon created a situation in Talamanca which was difficult for the Costa Rican authorities to control.

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In 1864, Willie succeeded in assuming the power directly under Mr. Lyon. Six years later, however, the king was forced to flee across the range and become an outlaw because he committed murder and fought the national authorities.

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As the post remained vacant, the nephew of Willie inherited it. Barely 20 years old, Antonio Saldaña became king.[3] His capital was Túnsula, not far from Sipurio on the Sixaola River, and was formed by one large house or "palenque" which differed very slightly from the other habitations.

[644]

Antonio's personality was very similar to that of Santiago, with all his attributes and

[2] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, p. 143.
[3] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 160.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P103(A)] SA19 Talamanca SA19

643 defects. The following is an eye-witness account of the young ruler at the beginning of this century:

> . . . from the first moment, I saw that that man was more than mediocre. . . A man born to govern; who was law to his people, and who bore on his face the mark of sadness but not of depression. His countenance is that of a person who commands. . . . What a fine man! I thought, and yet, Antonio, king of the Talamancas, has in all Costa Rica the poor reputation of irrational idolatry and uncontrollable passions! [4]

His dress was always plain, like a mestizo, and could have been confused with that of any Indian if he had not been accustomed as a chieftain to wear a necklace with six gold eagles, a feathered headdress, and carry the staff which is associated with power. When he went to the capital, he changed his costume and wore an impeccable black suit, cotton shirt and boots, which must have bothered him considerably as he was used to going barefooted.

[301 292 293]

There is little information about his youth which seemed to have lacked the preparation for what his destiny decreed as it was not until 1874, when his uncle Willie assumed the power, that there was even a suspicion that he might be a possible successor. The scarce data available recounts that his mother was drowned in the Lari River and that in his youth, Antonio traveled to distant places such as Guatemala and Panama.[5]

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The naming of Antonio as King practically coincided with the arrival of Bernardo Augusto Thiel, newly appointed Bishop to Costa Rica, who became the number one defender of the Indians. It was on the 4th of July, 1881, during a visit to Boruca and Talamanca, that the Bishop first met King Antonio and Mr. Lyon. This opened a new era for the Talamancans as the churchman, according to one description, ". . . had the character of the Vázqueses de Coronado and the faith of the Antonio Margrils." [6]

Shortly afterwards, a letter of Antonio directed to the government of Costa Rica asking for aid gives evidence of his interest

[4] Segarra y Julia, 1907, p. 571.
[5] Tristán, 1922, p. 156.
[6] Fernández Guardia, 1918, p. 162.

643 797 • 648 in the progress and development of his people and of the satisfaction he derived from the visit of Mons. Thiel.[7] The attitude of the government of Nueva Granada in its desire to take over Talamanca and the awareness and interest of the Bishop, awoke the Costa Rican authorities and caused them to establish a farming and military colony called "San Bernardo." This weakened the power of King Antonio and he became more the nominal than active head of the Talamancans.

643 648 [262] The King made various trips to San José. The first took place in 1882, when he visited the "Casa Presidencial" and was invited to dinner by President Fernández. On this occasion he refused to eat the lettuce in the salad and referred to the fact that he wasn't a rabbit. In 1899 and in 1907, he returned to the capital where he gave rise to many more anecdotes filled with picturesque details.[8]

[439] Antonio had a tendency to take the law into his own hands. On more than one occasion, he engaged in smuggling merchandise from Nueva Granada. Other times, he would flare up against the Costa Rican authority in the region, particularly when he had had an excess of liquor. This happened frequently and created difficulties and problems which had much to do with his loss of power and respect. Once it was even said, and not without basis, that he tried to poison the Bishop and other priests.

643 644 Concerning his private life, it is known that he married twice. His first wife was Oleria, the mother of Victoria, Julia, Benito, and Juan Saldaña. By the second wife, Leonor Almengor, he had Julia, Claracín (a boy), Tranquilino, Little Tranquilino, and Ninfa.[9]

[613] King Antonio had three sisters, the eldest of whom was María, mother of José Saldaña. This is important because the lineage is inherited by the feminine side and the King's eldest nephew thus was his legitimate heir. José was distinguished looking, tall, thin, bright, and vain in his dress.[10]

643 King Antonio Saldaña died the third of January, 1910, during the celebration of a

[7] Pérez Zeledón, 1913, pp. 175–76.
[8] Segarra y Julia, 1907, pp. 573–96.
[9] Tristán, 1922, pp. 156–57.
[10] Tristán, 1922, p. 157.